

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20

USIA-15 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 AEC-11 IO-14 OIC-04 OMB-01

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FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0023

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0014

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: AHG REPORT ON PROGRESS ON MBFR
NEGOTIATIONS

FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF THE REPORT TO BE SENT TO THE
NAC BY THE AHG FOR FORTHCOMING MINISTERIAL. IT WAS
APPROVED BY THE AHG ON 29 MAY 1974.

BEGIN TEXT.

(A) INTRODUCTION

1. THE MAIN DEVELOPMENTS IN THE FIRST ROUND OF THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS
(OCTOBER-DECEMBER 1973), INCLUDING THE PROPOSALS OF THE ALLIES AND THE

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WARSAW PACT, WERE SET OUT IN SOME DETAIL IN THE AD HOC GROUP (AHG) RE-

PORT

OF 30 NOVEMBER 1973. THE PRESENT AHG REPORT COVERS THE MAIN SUBSEQUENT

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS DURING THE SECOND ROUND (JANUARY TO APRIL 1974) AND THE FIRST FEW WEEKS OF THE CURRENT THIRD ROUND.

2. THE SECOND ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS (JANUARY-APRIL, 1974) WAS ESSENTIALLY EXPLANATORY AND EXPOSITORY IN NATURE. IT SERVED TO PROVIDE IMPORTANT CLARIFICATIONS OF THE FORMAL PROPOSALS, AND THE VIEWS BEHIND THEM, OF BOTH SIDES. IT LAID A FOUNDATION OF UNDERSTANDING OF EACH OTHER'S CONCEPTS WHICH MIGHT LATER ACCELERATE THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION.

(B) POSITIONS OF THE TWO SIDES

3. THE AHG HAS CONTINUED TO PURSUE THE ALLIES' POSITION WHICH IS BASED ON THE NEED TO SECURE AN OUTCOME WHICH WOULD ENHANCE SECURITY

IN CENTRAL EUROPE WHILE SAFEGUARDING FLANK SECURITY. THIS WOULD BE ACHIEVED BY ESTABLISHING APPROXIMATE PARITY BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES IN THE FORM OF A COMMON CEILING FOR OVERALL GROUND FORCE MANPOWER. THE ALLIES HAVE PROPOSED THAT REDUCTIONS BE NEGOTIATED AND IMPLEMENTED IN TWO PHASES. THE FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT WOULD PROVIDE FOR REDUCTION OF US

AND SOVIET GROUND FORCES AND AGREEMENT ON THE COMMON CEILING CONCEPT. ANY AGREEMENT WOULD CONTAIN PROVISION FOR SAFEGUARDING OF FLANK SECURITY.

THE SECOND PHASE WOULD PROVIDE FOR REDUCTIONS (FOCUSING, ON THE ALLIED SIDE, ON FORCES OF NON-U.S. DIRECT PARTICIPANTS) NECESSARY TO REACH THE

COMMON CEILING. APPROPRIATE STABILIZING MEASURES, VERIFICATION MEASURES

AND NON-CIRCUMVENTION PROVISIONS WOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE AGREEMENTS COVERING EACH PHASE.

4. UP TO NOW, THE WARSAW PACT PARTICIPANTS HAVE NOT RELINQUISHED THEIR POSITION THAT REDUCTIONS SHOULD BE BASED ON THE PRESENT RELATIONSHIP OF FORCES AND SHOULD NOT CHANGE THAT RELATIONSHIP. THEY PROPOSE THAT THE FORCES OF EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT BE REDUCED FROM THE

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OUTSET BY AN EQUAL PROPORTION INCLUDING GROUND, AIR, AND NUCLEAR FORCES

ALSO IN PROPORTION. THE PACT PROPOSES THAT REDUCTIONS BE CARRIED OUT IN STAGES, BUT THAT ALL REDUCTIONS BE AGREED UPON BEFORE ANY TAKE PLACE,

AND THAT EACH STAGE INCLUDE A "SLICE" OF ALL FORCES. THE PACT WISHES TO DELAY CONSIDERATION OF ASSOCIATED MEASURES UNTIL AFTER AGREEMENT UPON

REDUCTIONS, AND THEN TO LIMIT SUCH MEASURES TO AN ABSOLUTE MINIMUM.

5. PENDING FURTHER COUNCIL GUIDANCE THE ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES HAVE SET FORTH THE WESTERN POSITION THAT ANY AGREEMENTS REACHED SHOULD NOT DIMINISH THE SECURITY OF THE FLANK COUNTRIES. SO FAR IN THE NEGOTIATIONS

THE EASTERN SIDE SEEMS TO SHARE THIS GENERAL POSITION.

6. THE GENERAL EXPOSITION AND EXPLANATION OF THE OVERALL ALLIED POSITION SHOULD PROBABLY BE COMPLETED IN THE CURRENT ROUND. AS THE ALLIES IN BRUSSELS COMPLETE THEIR WORK, THE ALLIED NEGOTIATIONS WILL PRESENT FURTHER POSITIONS TO THE EAST ON THE QUESTIONS OF PRESERVING THE SECURITY OF THE FLANK COUNTRIES, STABILIZING MEASURES (OF WHICH FOUR SPECIFIC PROPOSALS HAVE SO FAR BEEN TABLED IN DETAILED FORM), VERIFICATION, AND NON-CIRCUMVENTION.

(C) ALLIANCE COHESION

7. THE AHG HAS CONTINUED TO MAINTAIN A HIGH DEGREE OF COHESION WHILE PURSUING ALLIED OBJECTIVES IN PLENARY SESSIONS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS AND INFORMAL MULTILATERAL DISCUSSIONS.

(D) PUBLIC INFORMATION POSTURE

8. PERIODIC PRESS CONFERENCES HAVE BEEN GIVEN BY SPOKESMEN OF BOTH SIDES. THERE HAVE ALSO BEEN OCCASIONAL PRESS LEAKS BY THE WARSAW PACT TO SUPPORT ITS NEGOTIATING POSITION AND TO REINFORCE CRITICISMS IN THE EASTERN PRESS OF THE ALLIED POSITION. THE ATTITUDE OF THE WESTERN PRESS, WHICH IN GENERAL CONTINUES TO SUPPORT THE ALLIED POSITION, SECRET

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RANGES FROM ASSERTIONS THAT THE TALKS ARE DEAD-LOCKED TO SPECULATION THAT EVENTS EXTERNAL TO MBFR MIGHT BREAK THIS "IMPASSE."

(E) CURRENT STATE OF NEGOTIATIONS

9. AT THE PRESENT TIME, THE MAIN ISSUE UPON WHICH NEGOTIATIONS ARE FOCUSING IS THAT OF PHASING: THE ALLIES PROPOSE THAT ONLY THE US AND USSR WILL REDUCE IN THE FIRST PHASE, WITH OTHER WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS REDUCING ONLY IN A SECOND PHASE AFTER THE EAST HAS AGREED TO THE COMMON CEILING CONCEPT AS PART OF A SATISFACTORY PHASE I AGREEMENT

AND THERE HAVE BEEN PRIOR US-SOVIET REDUCTIONS. THE EASTERN COUNTRIES INSIST UPON REDUCTIONS BY ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS FROM THE OUTSET.

10. PRIOR TO THE EASTER RECESS, AND IN PURSUIT OF THE ALLIED
OBJECTIVE AS REGARDS PHASING, THE AD HOC GROUP SECURED THE AGREEMENT OF

THE WARSAW PACT TO FOCUS DISCUSSION IN INFORMAL SESSIONS ON
THE QUESTION

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0014

FROM US REP MBFR

OF "WHOSE FORCES WILL BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET?" WITH THIS IN MIND,
THE AHG REQUESTED FURTHER GUIDANCE FROM THE NAC WHICH IT WAS BELIEVED
MIGHT BE NEEDED TO INDUCE THE EAST TO ACCEPT THE SUBSTANCE OF THE
ALLIED PHASING CONCEPT. THE NAC RESPONDED WITH SUPPLEMENTAL GUIDANCE
CONCERNING THE LINKAGE BETWEEN THE TWO PHASES, WHICH THE AHG IS NOW
MAKING USE OF IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.

11. THE BASIC TACTICAL AIM OF THE AHG IS TO DRAW THE EAST INTO
NEGOTIATING ON THE BASIS OF THE ALLIED PROPOSALS. THUS FAR, EASTERN
REPRESENTATIVES HAVE CLAIMED THE ALLIED TWO-PHASE APPROACH IS A

SUBTERFUGE TO AVOID REDUCTIONS OF FORCES OF WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS

OTHER THAN THE U.S. BEFORE THE EASTER RECESS, THE WARSAW PACT SUGGESTED

INFORMALLY CERTAIN MODIFICATIONS TO THEIR ORIGINAL PROPOSAL FOR A FIRST

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"SYMBOLIC" STAGE OF REDUCTIONS. THESE CHANGES SEEMED DESIGNED TO MAKE THESE "SYMBOLIC" REDUCTIONS LESS UNATTRACTIVE TO THE ALLIANCE, BUT THE

MODIFIED PROPOSAL REMAINS UNACCEPTABLE. FOR THEIR PART THE ALLIES HAVE

BEEN TRYING TO SHOW THE EAST THAT THEIR TWO-PHASE PROGRAM IS WORKABLE AND TAKES EASTERN CONCERNS INTO ACCOUNT. TO THIS END THEY HAVE NOW BEGUN

TO USE THE ADDITIONAL GUIDANCE PROVIDED BY THE NAC, STARTING WITH SUGGESTION OF A POSSIBLE FORMULA UNDER WHICH NEITHER SIDE WOULD INCREASE THE OVERALL LEVEL OF ITS GROUND FORCE MANPOWER BETWEEN THE TWO PHASES.

12. THERE HAS BEEN AN INITIAL DISCUSSION OF THE DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES. WHILE THE WARSAW PACT HAS MADE IT CLEAR THAT IT IS DISSATISFIED WITH ALLIED DATA AND WITH THE ALLIED DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES, IT IS RELUCTANT TO EXCHANGE DATA UNTIL ISSUES OF PRINCIPLE HAVE BEEN RESOLVED. THE ALLIED NEGOTIATORS WILL RETURN TO THIS MATTER AT A SUITABLE MOMENT.

(F) ASSESSMENT

13. THE WARSAW PACT REPRESENTATIVES OFFERED SOME HINTS OF TACTICAL FLEXIBILITY IN THE SECOND ROUND, THEY GENERALLY QUALIFIED THEM IN AN UNACCEPTABLE WAY WHEN CONFIRMATION OR CLARIFICATION WAS SOUGHT. NO FIRM CONCLUSIONS CAN THEREFORE BE BASED ON SUCH OCCASIONAL (AND SOMETIMES MUTUALLY INCONSISTENT) INDICATIONS OF FLEXIBILITY. THERE IS EQUAL DIFFICULTY IN ASSESSING AT THIS STAGE WHETHER A FIRMER ADHERENCE

OF THE EAST TO ITS FORMAL POSITIONS, WHICH HAS BECOME NOTICEABLE FOLLOWING THE EASTER RECESS, IS ONLY A SHORT-TERM TACTICAL PLOY OR A REFLECTION OF LONGER TERM FACTORS IN SOVIET POLICY.

14. SOME WARSAW PACT REPRESENTATIVES HAVE INDICATED INFORMALLY THAT THEY ATTACH PRIORITY SIGNIFICANCE AT THIS TIME TO THE CSCE. THE EAST COULD ALSO DESIRE TIME TO EVALUATE GENERAL POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE

WEST GIVEN SEVERAL RECENT LEADERSHIP CHANGES. THESE, AND POSSIBLY OTHER

EVENTS OUTSIDE MBFR, COULD PROVIDE SOVIET MOTIVES FOR WITHHOLDING ANY
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CONCESSIONS IN THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS AT THE CURRENT STAGE.

15. NEVERTHELESS, THE WARSAW PACT APPEARS TO MAINTAIN INTEREST IN REACHING AN AGREEMENT ON MBFR AND IS CONTRIBUTING TO A BUSINESS-LIKE AND NON-POLEMICAL ATMOSPHERE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, ALTHOUGH EARLIER INDICATIONS ON ITS PART OF HASTE TO REACH AGREEMENT HAVE NOT BEEN REPEATED SINCE THE EASTER RECESS. IT IS STILL TOO EARLY TO IDENTIFY SPECIFIC SOVIET INTENTIONS IN MBFR OR TO DETERMINE WHETHER THE EAST CAN IN FACT BE INDUCED TO NEGOTIATE ON THE BASIS OF THE ALLIANCE'S PROPOSALS.

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